LADY CAREY AND SPENSER

A Portion of

A CRITICAL EDITION OF SPENSER'S "MUIOPOTMOS"

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1930

BY

ERNEST ALBERT STRATHMANN

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SUMMARY

A Critical Edition of Spenser's "Muiopotmos" reviews the widely scattered materials bearing upon the poem and incorporates in the synthesis the results of a new study. The introduction to the edition deals with problems of text, date, sources, genre, and interpretation. The section on the text includes a bibliographical description of the *Complaints* quarto, a list of the extant copies, a refutation of the argument that *Muiopotmos* was published separately, and an explanation of the text of this edition. The date of composition is fixed most probably in 1590. Spenser's use of his sources is reviewed with special reference to his narrative technique, and objective evidence for calling *Muiopotmos* a mock-heroic poem is presented. None of the allegorical interpretations is found satisfactory.

In a separate section of the dissertation, the literary relations of Spenser and Lady Elizabeth Carey, to whom *Muiopotmos* is dedicated, are discussed at greater length than the limits of an introduction would permit. The basis of this discussion is a study of Lady Carey's life, more detailed and better documented than any available hitherto. The biographical sketch and an account of the Carey family as patrons of literature provide a factual background for interpreting Lady Carey's association with Spenser and more particularly with the poem dedicated to her.

The text of the poem, based upon an independent study of the quarto and folio, textual notes, an extended commentary, a glossary, and a bibliography complete the dissertation. The commentary consists of variorum notes and new annotation; the new notes, though naturally incidental and scattered, are especially helpful for an appreciation of the stanzas describing the "gay gardins."

The section on Lady Carey and Spenser, condensed in form but expanded in content by the addition of materials gathered since the dissertation was accepted, is presented in the accompanying article.

LADY CAREY AND SPENSER

By Ernest A. Strathmann

There are several reasons for reëxamining the problem of Edmund Spenser's literary relations with Lady Elizabeth Carey, second Baroness Hunsdon. First, there are certain weaknesses in the arguments which lead to an extension of her influence beyond the limits indicated by two dedications and one recognized allusion.[1] In its extreme form, the relationship is interpreted to include identifications of Lady Carey as the mistress of the *Amoretti*, as Amoret, as the fourth Grace, possibly as Rosalind,[2] as the male spider in *Muiopotmos* read as a courtly love allegory,[3] and as the inspiration of the early hymns.[4] These identifications are predicated upon reading the few references to her in Spenser's works as evidence of unusual warmth. To support this reading the older and more literal annotation of the well-known " sisters three " passage in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* is abandoned, and Charillis, who receives more lengthy praise than Phyllis or Amaryllis, is made to represent Lady Elizabeth Carey rather than her sister Anne, Lady Compton and Monteagle.[5]

The second reason for reëxamination, which grows out of the first, is that we know surprisingly little about Lady Carey herself. The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us only that she flourished about 1590, that she was the patron of Spenser, Nashe, and Dowland, and, erroneously, that she or her daugh-

[1] The *Faerie Queene* dedicatory sonnet, the dedication of *Muiopotmos*, and the reference in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, lines 536-71. To these may well be added the references to the " faire Ladie " at the beginning and end of the *Visions* group, usually regarded as included with *Muiopotmos* in the dedication to Lady Carey.

[2] P. W. Long, " Spenser and Lady Carey," *MLR* 3 (1907-08). 257-67. For Amoret, the fourth Grace, and Rosalind, see especially pp. 265-7; and for the fourth Grace see also P. W. Long, " Spenser's Sir Calidore," *Englische Studien* 42 (1910). 53-60, especially pp. 59-60. The discussion of the *Amoretti* is continued by J. C. Smith, " The Problem of Spenser's Sonnets," *MLR* 5 (1910). 273-81, and by P. W. Long, " Spenser's Sonnets 'As Published,' " *MLR* 6 (1911). 390-97.

[3] P. W. Long, " Spenser's *Muiopotmos*," *MLR* 9 (1914). 457-62.

[4] *Idem*, " The Date of Spenser's Earlier Hymnes," *Englische Studien* 47 (1913-14). 197-208.

[5] Identifications of Lady Carey as Charillis and as the mistress of the *Amoretti* have been more widely accepted than others mentioned in this paragraph.

ter wrote *The Tragedy of Mariam.*[6] Aside from its intrinsic interest, more accurate and more detailed biographical information than that provided by the *DNB* is a helpful approach to the problem of her relations with Spenser.

My present discussion is limited to a brief sketch of the life of Lady Carey including relevant facts about her husband and daughter, an account of her literary associations, and, in the light of this information, an analysis of the basic arguments for postulating a relationship between Spenser and Lady Carey like that of servant and mistress according to the conventions of courtly love.

I

Two manuscript records[7] are evidence that Elizabeth Spencer was born on St. Peter's Day after Midsummer (i. e., June 29), 1552, the sixth child of Sir John and Lady Katherine Spencer of Althorp, who had five sons and eight daughters.[8] About December 29, 1574, she married Sir George Carey,[9]

[6] The *DNB* articles on Lady Carey's husband, Sir George, second Baron Hunsdon, and on her father-in-law, Sir Henry, first Baron Hunsdon, are more satisfactory. Useful biographical information about the Careys is obtainable in *The Herald and Genealogist,* ed. J. G. Nichols, 1863-74, vol. 4, pp. 33-48, 129-44, 385-98; in *The Complete Peerage,* ed. G. E. C[okayne] and others; in H. G. Cary's *The Cary Family in England,* 1906; and in Fairfax Harrison's *The Devon Carys,* 2 vols., privately printed, 1920. In these works the individual biographical sketches are necessarily condensed, and relatively little is said about the ladies of the family. Sir Henry and Sir George Carey figure prominently in the military and political affairs of the time, as the state papers, letters, and other contemporary references amply testify.

[7] British Museum Additional MS 29438, fol. 10, contains a list of "The Ages of S^{r} Jn^{o} Spencer (my Great Grandfathers) children transcribed from a loose paper I found: by me Jn^{o} Spencer 1704." This eighteenth century copy is verified by an earlier record in Ashmolean MS 240, fols. 132^{b}-133^{b}. These notes were made by a Mr. Napier, described in the catalogue as a physician interested in astrology. The two lists agree except for occasional variations readily accounted for, but which are at the same time evidence of independent origins. Add. MS 29438 has been previously cited by W. H. Welply in *Notes and Queries* 162 (Feb. 13, 1932). 110.

[8] Of those listed in the MS records, Susan, the second child, and Dorothy, the eleventh child, are not included in Sir John's epitaph, which names eleven children. Early deaths could account for this omission, as a result of which Lady Carey is usually called the second daughter; according to the MSS she is the third daughter. The relative ages of the sisters are important in the annotation of *Colin Clouts.* Lady Carey's father died November 5, 1586, a date to be reckoned with in any conjectural identification of Rosalind as Elizabeth Spencer. The epitaph is printed in George Baker's *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton,* 1822-30, 1. 95-97.

[9] Licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; *Complete Peerage* 6. 630.

eldest son of Henry, Baron Hunsdon, who was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth.[10] Like her sisters Anne and Alice, who were also Spenser's patrons, she married well,—how well Sir John Harington's jocular reference twenty years later is good evidence. Selecting the jury to try "Misacmos" in his *Apology* for the *Metamorphosis of Ajax,* Harington shows himself acquainted with the younger Sir John Spencer, Elizabeth's brother, in this wise:

> Well, I presume you will not refuse it; for though you never heard of him [i. e., Misacmos], it seems he hath heard of you: I will tell you two or three good tokens; you have three or four sisters, good, well-favoured, well-featured, well-statured, well-natured women, for plain country wenches; and they were married to men a step or two, or three or four, above the best yeomen of Kent (well fare all good tokens); and one of them is a widow; I beshrew their hearts, and I would their wives were widows that made her so: I trow it was Sir James Harington and your father, that went a begging to make a purse to marry their daughters: . . . .[11]

Indeed, the powerful family alliances which resulted from the marriages of Sir John Spencer's daughters are recognized in *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland,* 1594, as an advantage to the Earl of Derby, who married the youngest, Alice.[12]

The birth of Lady Carey's only child, also named Elizabeth, is recorded in the Hunsdon Parish Register:

> Mris Elizabeth Cary dau. of Sr George Cary knight born 24 May and was baptized 7 June 1576. Our soveraigne lady the Quenes Mati [and] The countys of Warwick Godmothers & therle of Sussex Godfather.[13]

[10] The relationship may have been closer; there are reasons for believing that Henry VIII, not William Carey, was the father of Henry Carey, whose mother was Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Anne. For discussion pro and con see Paul Friedman, *Anne Boleyn,* 1884, vol. 2, Appendix, note B.

[11] *The Metamorphosis of Ajax; with the Anatomy and Apology,* ed. 1814, *An Apology,* pp. 29-30. Alice was the widow of Ferdinando Strange, Earl of Derby, who was believed a victim of the Jesuits.

[12] Sir Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria,* 1815, 4. 97-120, especially pp. 116-20. See note 11.

[13] H. C. Gibbs, *The Parish Registers of Hunsdon, co. Hertford,* 1915, p. 104. The date of her birth is transcribed from the Register as March 24 in the *Herald and Genealogist* 4. 46; but the later date, May 24, is no doubt correct. See John Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys,* ed. Sir John MacLean, 1883-85, 2. 396.

Lady Elizabeth Carey is again mentioned in the Register[14] as godmother for her nephew Robert, Sir Edmund Carey's son, in 1582/3.

As Captain-General of the Isle of Wight, Sir George resided at Carisbrooke Castle to prepare for the coming of the Armada, and he occasionally visited the island after that particular danger was past. In his list of " The Captaynes of Ye Island " Sir John Oglander condemns his ambition and, in a spirit of fairness, praises the hospitality which distinguished the Carey household:

> Aftor him [Sir Edward Horsey], Sir George Carye, a man beyond all ambitions, whoe, if owre forefathors had not stoode stiffly to itt, woold have browght us in subiection; . . . it [yet] this mutch, he kept ye best hospitalitie at ye Castel as evor wase or will be kept there, and lived there.[15]

On this passage the editor, W. H. Long, notes concerning Lady Carey that she was

> . . . as high minded as her husband, for she regarded but three ladies in the Island as suitable and fitting associates. These were Sir J. Oglander's mother, ' Mistress Meux,' wife of Sir John Meux, of Kingston, and ' Mistress Hobson,' a Chelsea lady, and wife of ' Old Mr. Hobson,' of Ningwood.[16]

Oglander's restrained praise is at once a useful check upon and confirmation of the biased enthusiasm of the Careys' admirers and partisans,—for example, of Thomas Nashe, who enjoyed the " hospitalitie at ye Castel " which Oglander mentions.

Some hostility toward the Careys is evident in Rowland Whyte's comment upon the failure of the negotiations for the marriage of Lady Carey's daughter and Herbert Pembroke:

> Sir George Carey takes it very unkindly that my lord of Pembroke broke of the match intended between my lord Herbart and his daughter, and told the Queen it was becawse he wold not assure him 1000 l. a yeare, which comes to his daughter as next a kinne to Queen Anne Bullen. . . . Truly I hard, that if my lord of Pem-

[14] Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[15] *The Oglander Memoirs,* ed. W. H. Long, 1888, pp. 4-5; *DNB,* article " George Carey."

[16] Since Long prints only extracts of the *Memoirs,* his use of quotes in this passage seems to indicate that he is here paraphrasing an unpublished portion of the blunt and gossipy knight's recollections.

broke shuld die, who is very pursife and maladife, the *tribe of Hunsdon* doe laye waite for the wardship of the braue yong lord.[17]

More successful arrangements were made with the Berkeley family, who regarded the match as advantageous; and on February 19, 1595/6, the young Elizabeth Carey married Thomas Berkeley, son of Henry, Lord Berkeley.[18] The celebration of the wedding in Blackfriars, London, where the Careys maintained a residence, may have included a performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[19] The bride's grandfather and later her father were patrons of Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's men, and the very fact of their patronage, which to-day has eclipsed other literary relations of the Careys, lends plausibility to the conjecture. But there is no proof that Lady Carey witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's masque-like comedy at her daughter's wedding. Even the garrulous John Smyth of Nibley, historian of the Berkeley family, is comparatively silent about the details of the entertainment for the occasion.

A few months later, July 23, 1596, Sir Henry Carey died, and Sir George succeeded his father as Baron Hunsdon. The next year he became Lord Chamberlain of the Household, member of the Privy Council, and a Knight of the Garter, all of which offices and honors had been held by his father. Poor health marred the enjoyment of these new dignities, and Sir George sought a cure at Bath, where the Careys gave Philip Gawdy so cordial a welcome that he

was stayed tenn dayes longer then I ment bothe by my Lo. Chamberline, and his lady, and at last war ready to haue fallen out withe me bycause I wold come before him. I was more then ordinaryly bounde to them bothe, and I thinke myselfe happy that I took a iust occasion to be ther at that instant, for I thinke since Bathe first smoked ther was neuer greater nor more worthy companye in that towne. And my Lo. kepte the most honorable house

[17] Letter by R. Whyte, Dec. 5, 1595; Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, 1.372, quoted by F. B. Young, *Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke*, 1912, p. 58. The italics are mine.

[18] The marriage was attended by financial difficulties, largely due to the extravagance of young Berkeley. See Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys* 2.383-4, 396-400, 405.

[19] E. K. Chambers, "The Occasion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, ed. Israel Gollancz, 1916, pp. 154-60; *Elizabethan Stage* 2.194.

that euer was kepte ther, all the gentlemen rounde about cam in to my Lo: and he had very many and great presentes gyuen him.[20]

A less complimentary and more obscure allusion to Carey's illness occurs in a political lampoon, apparently directed against the opponents of Essex:

Chamberlin, Chamberlin
hees of hir graces kinne
foole hath he euer bin
with his Joane silverpin
She makes his cockescombe thin
and quake in euerie limme
quicksilver is in his head
but his wit's dull as lead—
Lord for thy pittie.[21]

The exact meaning of this derisive reference to Lady Carey is less important for the present discussion than what seems to be an implication that Sir George was very fond of his wife, an implication supported by the language of his will.

The visits to Bath were of no avail.[22] Sir George died September 8, 1603, and, although there is no contemporary record of the fact, was probably buried in Westminster Abbey, as he requested in his will. His name and the names of his wife and father, among others, are inscribed on a memorial tablet of later date in St. John the Baptist's Chapel. The many affectionate references in his will to Lady Carey, named executor and principal legatee, seem to be more than merely conventional; for example:

The rest of all my goodes . . . I give and bequeathe to the sweetest Companion that ever Man hathe founde in this lief the Ladie Elizabeth Carey my faithefull trewe and lovinge wief. . . .[23]

[20] *Letters of Philip Gawdy, 1579-1616,* ed. I. H. Jeayes, 1906, pp. 97-8. Letter to his brother, June 5, 1600.

[21] C. C. Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton,* 1922, pp. 235-7. Mrs. Stopes writes that she cannot corroborate the uncomplimentary suggestion that Lady Carey was shrewish. But does the doggerel impute shrewishness to Lady Carey, or uxoriousness to Sir George?

[22] In letters to Carleton dated July 8 and October 2, 1602, John Chamberlain mentions Carey's visit to Bath and his return "neither much better nor worse then when he went out." *Letters,* Camden Society Publications no. 79 (1861), pp. 147, 152.

[23] Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 68 Bolein. The quotation is from a transcript of the original; an abstract is printed in the *Herald and Genealogist* 4. 131-2.

Some nine years later, Lady Carey married Ralph Eure, third Baron Eure, shortly before January 9, 1612/13, the date of a letter in which John Chamberlain tells Sir Ralph Winwood of the event.[24] She survived Lord Eure, who died April 1, 1617, less than a year, as the following record of her burial in Westminster Abbey testifies:

> 1617 The Lady Eliz. Evers, 1st wife of George Carew, Bar. of Huntsdon, afterwds wife to the Ld Evers, was bur. in the Ld Hunsd. vault, Mar. 2.[25]

Lady Carey died intestate, and the administration of her "goods, etc." was granted to her daughter, Lady Berkeley, on March 20, 1617/18.[26] The daughter, whose first husband died November 22, 1611, also married again, February 14, 1621/2. Her second husband was Sir Thomas Chamberlain, Justice of the King's Bench and of the Common Pleas, who is named by several genealogists and editors as Lady Carey's second husband. A contemporary reference makes the identity of the bride unmistakably clear.[27] Lady Chamberlain died April 23, 1635, and was buried at Cranford, in Middlesex.

This brief and incomplete record of her life serves at least to identify Lady Carey,[28] to give a few hints about her social

[24] Winwood, *Memorials,* 3. 422, quoted by Sir Egerton Brydges, *Memoirs of the Peers of England during the Reign of James I,* 1802, p. 328: "The Lord Ewers is newly married to the Lady Hunsdon, Sir Richard Spencer's sister." This reference dates the marriage more precisely than either the *Herald and Genealogist* or the *Complete Peerage.*

[25] "Register of Burials in Westminster Abbey," *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,* ed. J. G. Nichols, 1834-43, 7. 357. The date is old style. The monumental inscription is mentioned above.

[26] Prerogative Court of Canterbury, *Administration Act Book,* 1617-18, folio 163. The brief record, of which I have secured a transcript, contains no new facts.

[27] *Herald and Genealogist* 4. 40, quotes a letter by John Chamberlain: "Judge Chamberlaine, of the King's Bench, was married on Thursday to Lady Berkeley, sole daughter of the last Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon. He makes her a jointure of £1,000 a year and is to leave her £10,000 in money." W. H. Welply, in *Notes and Queries* 162 (Feb. 13, 1932). 110, names a Sir *George* Chamberlain as Lady Elizabeth Carey's second husband, and Lord Eure as her third. I have found no other reference to such a second marriage in the sources at my command. There is a curious coincidence in the name, since Sir George Carey was Lord Chamberlain, and since the younger Elizabeth Carey married a Sir Thomas Chamberlain.

[28] During her lifetime there were at least eight "Elizabeth Careys" prominent enough to appear in records of one kind or another, and instances of confusion are cited in Section 2. The problem of identity appears also in connection with the name "Elizabeth Spencer" and the title "Lady Hunsdon." The date of her

and family relationships, and to provide at several points a check upon the study of her place in Spenser's works. The suggestions of personality and character in these random and disconnected allusions are vague enough, and the very inadequacy of our knowledge shows the need of caution in accepting generalizations based largely upon detailed interpretation of Spenser's words alone. Further background for the study of the Spenser references is available in the tributes of other Elizabethan writers.

II

Thomas Nashe provides the best introduction to our knowledge of the literary relations of the Carey family, not only by his own praises of Lady Carey, her daughter, and her husband, but also by references to those of " diuers wel-deseruing Poets " and of " Fames eldest fauorite, Maister Spencer." Both allusions occur in the dedication of *Christs Teares ouer Ierusalem*, 1593, to Lady Carey, whom he addresses as " Excellent accomplisht Court-glorifying Lady." He extols her generosity, her piety, and the " regenerate grauitie " of her judgment, with which only a work in divinity might " consort ":

> The world hath renowned you for Religion, pietie, bountihood, modestie, and sobrietie, (rare induments in these retchlesse daies of securitie.) Diuers wel-deseruing Poets haue consecrated their endeuours to your praise. Fames eldest fauorite, Maister Spencer, in all his writings hie prizeth you. To the eternizing of the heroycall familie of the Careys, my choisest studies haue I tasked. Then you that high allied house hath not a more deere adopted ornament. To the supportiue perpetuating of your canonized reputation, wholie this booke haue I destined. Vouchsafe it benigne hospitalitie in your Closet, with slight enteruiew at idle houres; and more polished labours of mine ere long shall salute you. Some complete historie I will shortly goe through with, wherein your perfections shall be the chiefe argument. To none of all those maiesticall wit-forestalling worthies of your sexe my selfe doe I apply, but you alone. The cunning courtship of faire words can neuer ouer-worke mee to cast away honor on anie. I hate those female braggarts that contend to haue all the Muses beg at their doores, and, with Doues, delight euermore to looke themselues in the glasse of vaine-glorie; yet by

marriage helps considerably to dispose of the first problem; but in the case of the title, after Sir Henry Carey's death, it is difficult to tell in some instances whether " Lady Hunsdon " means his widow or Elizabeth Carey, unless a helpful " junior " is added.

their sides weare continually Barbarie purses, which neuer ope to any but pedanticall Parasites.

Diuine Ladie, you I must and will memorize more especially, for you recompence learning extraordinarilie. . . . To write in Diuinitie I would not haue aduentured, if ought els might haue consorted with the regenerate grauitie of your iudgement. Your thoughts are all holy, holy is your life; in your hart liues no delight but of Heauen. . . . Most resplendent Ladie, encourage mee, fauour mee, countenaunce mee in this, and some-thing ere long I will aspire to, beyond the common mediocritie.[29]

To the younger Elizabeth Carey he dedicates *The Terrors of the Night*, 1594, and digresses in further praise of her mother:

A worthie Daughter are you of so worthie a Mother; borrowing (as another *Phoebe*) from her bright Sunne-like resplendaunce, the orient beames of your radiaunce. Into the Muses societie her selfe she hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine *Petrarch* another monument in *England*. Euer honored may she be of the royallest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore beadsmens distresses. Well may I say it, because I haue tride it, neuer liu'd a more magnificent Ladie of her degree on this earth. A number of men there bee, who pursuing the high way to the Indies, haue perisht in lingring expectation before they could get thether; but a neerer Cut haue I found in her extraordinarie liberalitie and bountie: and to a companie of my malcontent companions will discouer if it please them, how to be gainfull and gain-coping nauigators if they will insist in my directions.[30]

Finally, in this same work, *The Terrors of the Night*, he makes an even more personal acknowledgment of the hospitality shown him by the Careys in the Isle of Wight:

He that writes this can tell, for he hath neuer had good voyage in his life but one, & that was to a fortunate blessed Iland, nere those pinacle rocks called the Needles. O, it is a purified Continent, & a fertil plot fit to seat another Paradice, where, or in no place, the image of ancient hospitalitie is to be found.

While I liue I will praise it and extoll it, for the true magnificence and continued honourable bountie that I saw there. . . .

Men that haue neuer tasted that full spring of his liberalitie, [Carey's] wherwith (in my most forsaken extremities) right graciously hee hath deigned to reuiue and refresh mee, may rashly (at first sight) implead me of flatterie, and not esteeme these my feruent tearmes as the necessary repaiment of due debt, but words

[29] *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1910, 2.9-11.
[30] *Ibid.* 1.342.

idly begotten with good lookes, and in an ouer-ioyed humour of vaine hope slipt from me by chance: . . . .

Through him my tender wainscot Studie doore is deliuered from much assault and battrie: through him I looke into, and am lookt on in the world; from whence otherwise I were a wretched banished exile. Through him all my good (as by a conduit head) is conueighed vnto me; and to him all my endeuours (like riuers) shall pay tribute as to the Ocean.[31]

The conventionality of much of this is obvious; for example, the extravagance of the language and the promise of greater things to come, a promise oftener made than fulfilled. But, with due allowances made, Nashe's remarks lead Mr. McKerrow to the conclusion that they contain a "touch of more sincere affection than is usual in the praise of a patron."[32]

Nashe's scorn of "those female braggarts that contend to haue all the Muses beg at their doores" but are niggardly in recompence may be a flattering explanation of the relative scarcity of dedications to Lady Carey. In any case, only two[33] of the "diuers wel-deseruing poets" whom he mentions are known to me: Abraham Fleming and Thomas Churchyard, neither particularly well deserving in the eyes of modern readers. Fleming, whose prose religious works include occasional verses, dedicates to Sir George and Lady Elizabeth jointly *The Diamond of Deuotion*, 1581, and *The Monomachie of Motiues*, 1582. The dedication of *The Diamond of Deuotion* (better known in the first edition under the title of Part I, "The Footepath to Felicitie") is continued in 1586 and 1602, but only Sir George is mentioned in the edition of 1608.[34] In the earlier works, too, the letter is written to Sir George rather than to his wife; Fleming praises the learning of his patron with sufficient restraint to escape the charge of "gnat-

[31] *Ibid.* 1. 374-5.

[32] *Ibid.* 5. 22.

[33] Not previously noted in this connection, I believe. McKerrow's note on the passage is (*op. cit.* 4. 214): "Excepting Spencer, I cannot find any poet who had dedicated works to Lady Carey at this date."

[34] This continuation after the death of Sir George has little significance. I have not seen the edition of 1598; the dedication in the 1608 edition is condensed in content as well as in the salutation. I am indebted to Miss Lucy E. Osborne of the Chapin Library for information about *The Diamond of Deuotion*, and to Mr. C. K. Edmonds of the Huntington Library for information about the works of both Fleming and Churchyard. Sir Egerton Brydges quotes part of the dedication of *The Diamond of Deuotion* in *The British Bibliographer* 2. 314.

onism" which he fears. Churchyard's dedication to Lady Carey of "A Tragical Discourse of the Haplesse mans life" in *Churchyards Challenge*, 1593, is perfunctory, and despite the rarity of the work hardly worth quoting. The poem itself is an old one, previously printed without a dedication in *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes*, 1575 and 1578.[35]

Later than Nashe, Henry Lok addressed to Lady Carey one of the many sonnets appended to *Ecclesiastes, Otherwise Called the Preacher*, 1597; just which one it is difficult to say positively. "The Right Honorable the Lord of Hunsdon" can be identified with certainty as Sir George Carey by the date and by the reference in the sonnet to his father; but either the "Ladie of Hunsdon" or the "vertuous Lady, the Lady Carey" could be his wife. Grosart believes that Elizabeth Carey, not her mother-in-law, is the "Ladie of Hunsdon," a plausible enough guess, since the poet would be likely to address the wife by a title corresponding to the one he used for her husband. "Lady Carey" (particularly with no other name given) could be any one of several prominent ladies; whoever she is, the sonnet seems to indicate a closer literary relationship than the others.[36]

Further references to Lady Carey are incidental. The dedication to Sir George Carey of John Hester's *The Pearl of Practice*,[37] 1594, concludes with a prayer "for my good Ladies happinesse." In a less perfunctory manner, John Dowland remembers Lady Carey in dedicating to her husband *The First Book of Songs or Airs*, 1597:

[35] Churchyard refers to this address to Lady Carey in his dedication of "Shores Wife," also in the *Challenge*, to her sister Lady Compton and Monteagle. He had other connections with the Careys. In *The Rode of Sir William Drury into Scotland* Churchyard tells of the knighting of George Carey, and devotes a vigorous passage to the story of the challenge addressed to Lord Fleming. Sir Henry Carey, in a letter to Secretary Walsingham, June 28, 1581, relates the perils to which Churchyard was exposed from an ambush in Edinburgh. See George Chalmers, *Churchyard's Chips Concerning Scotland* (1817), pp. 69-72, 119-20, 126-30. There is an affectionate reference to Sir Henry Carey in the dedication to Lord Delaware of *A Sad and Solemne Funerall of Sir Francis Knowles*, 1596; and Churchyard dedicated *A Pleasant Discourse of Court and Wars*, 1596, to Sir George Carey.

[36] *Fuller Worthies' Library Miscellanies*, ed. A. B. Grosart, vol. 2, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 354, 377, 385.

[37] The dedication is signed by James Fourestier, who completed the medical handbook after Hester's death. See G. B. Harrison, *An Elizabethan Journal*, 1928, p. 267. The quotation is from a photostat of the preliminary matter in the British Museum copy.

Neither in these your honours, may I let pass the dutiful remembrance of your virtuous Lady, my honourable mistress, whose singular graces towards me have added spirit to my unfortunate labours.[38]

Perhaps worth passing notice are Lady Carey's participation in a masque by John Marston honoring her sister Alice in 1607, and her gift of a window to St. Peter's Church, Bath.[39]

Three additional literary connections have been mistakenly credited to Lady Carey. The *DNB*, perhaps following Todd,[40] interprets Nashe's statement, "Into the Muses societie her selfe she hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine Petrarch another monument in England," to mean that Lady Carey may have written the *Visions of Petrarch* now included in the Spenser canon. A far more simple and plausible interpretation of Nashe's sentence is that it refers to Spenser's dedication to Lady Carey of *Muiopotmos* and the *Visions* which follow it in the *Complaints* volume.[41] The phrasing indicates patronage rather than authorship. Also according to the *DNB*, Lady Carey or her daughter, more probably the latter, is the author of *The Tragedy of Mariam*, 1613, "written by that learned, vertuous, and truly noble Ladie, E. C."; but the tragedy is the work of Elizabeth, wife of Sir Henry Cary, later Viscount Falkland. Two of the extant copies carry a dedicatory sonnet by "E. C." to "my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye," believed to be the wife of Sir Philip, the author's brother-in-law. The best evidence of authorship is a sonnet by John Davies of Hereford in his *Muses Sacrifice*; it is addressed to the wife of Sir Henry Cary, and alludes to the content of the play.[42] The third error is in the identification of the "truly

[38] *An English Garner*, ed. Edward Arber, 1877-83, 4.30; *DNB*, article "Elizabeth Carey."

[39] At the conclusion of the masque members of the family and others read or recited complimentary verses, preserved in Huntington Library MS EL34/B/9. See David Masson, *Life of Milton*, 1875-80, 1.475. For the gift of the window by the "Lady Elizab. Baroness of Hunsdon," recorded by Anthony à Wood, see *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, N. S. 4 (1884). 84. Lady Carey was the only Baroness Hunsdon named Elizabeth.

[40] Spenser's *Works*, 1805, 1.lxxiv-lxxv.

[41] O. F. Emerson, "Spenser, Lady Carey, and the *Complaints* Volume," *PMLA* 32 (1917).306-22.

[42] See the Malone Society Reprint of the play, ed. A. C. Dunstan and W. W. Greg, 1914, pp. v-ix, xv-xix. After some vacillation, Brydges decided that Davies'

virtuous and honourable Lady, the Lady Elizabeth Carey" to whom the dedicatory sonnet printed with the second edition of *England's Helicon*, 1614, is addressed. She could hardly be the Lady Hunsdon,[43] who married Lord Eure before January 9, 1613. The sonnet was written by Richard More, the publisher, and hence probably composed just before publication, about a year after Lady Carey's second marriage.

The small number of literary references to Lady Carey is partly compensated for by contemporary acknowledgment of the bookish interests of her family. Sir George Carey, better known than his wife as a patron,[44] was praised by George Chapman as one of three noblemen who had "most profitably entertained learning in themselves." In dedicating *The Shadow of Night*, 1594, to Matthew Roydon, Chapman complains of the handicaps imposed upon literature by the superficial judgments of vain readers who devote only their idle hours to the arts, and finds encouragement in a more worthy trio:

> But I stay this spleen when I remember, my good Matthew, how joyfully oftentimes you reported unto me, that most ingenious Derby, deep-searching Northumberland, and skill-embracing heir of Hunsdon had most profitably entertained learning in themselves to the vital warmth of freezing science, and to the admirable lustre of their true nobility, whose high-deserving virtues may cause me hereafter strike that fire out of darkness, which the brightest Day shall envy for beauty.[45]

Abraham Fleming says much the same thing in his dedications to the Careys. The last word on the subject is a homely tribute from the pen of John Smyth of Nibley, who is not

sonnet pointed to Lady Falkland as the author of the play; *Censura Literaria*, 1815, 7. 135-9. Perhaps Lady Hunsdon owes part of her reputation for learning to this confusion with her namesake, Lady Falkland, whose talents won contemporary recognition.

[43] So identified by Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, 1815, 1. 160. A. H. Bullen, ed. *England's Helicon*, 1887, pp. xiii-xiv, thinks she is certainly the same Elizabeth Carey who wrote *Mariam*, and supposes her to be the Lady Falkland.

[44] In addition to those already mentioned, the following writers dedicated works to him: Thomas Heath, *A Manifest and Apparent Confutation of an Astrological Discourse*, 1583; William Warner, *Pan his Syrinx*, 1584, and the revised edition of 1597, and the last four books of *Albions England* in the 1597 edition; Thomas Morley, *Canzonets or Litle Short Aers to Fiue and Sixe Voices*, 1597; Anon., *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*, 1597. Warner, who dedicated *Albions England*, 1586, to Sir Henry Carey, seems to have been in the service of the Careys.

[45] *Works*, ed. R. H. Shepherd, 1874-75, 2. 3.

always flattering in his comments on the Berkeleys. He is describing the retirement of Lady Carey's daughter to her new country place:

> His [George, Lord Berkeley's] noble mother I leave at her new purchase at Cranford, 12 miles from London, amongst her thousand of books, havinge from the Counsells of those dead, brought wisdom and happines to her widdowhood, according to the rithmicall distick,
>
> If that thou wilt true counsell have,
> Of dead old men doe thou it crave.[46]

III

The probability of a warm welcome for Spenser in the Carey household can be inferred from the hospitality to which Oglander, Gawdy, and Nashe paid their diverse tributes and from the modest patronage of literature which has just been illustrated. But Spenser had still another claim upon the attentions of both Lady Carey and her sisters: he was their acknowledged kinsman, as he declares in two dedications,[47] in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*,

> Ne lesse praisworthie are the sisters three,
> The honor of the noble familie:
> Of which I meanest boast my selfe to be,
> And most that vnto them I am so nie.[48]

and indirectly in *Prothalamion*:

> Though from another place I take my name,
> An house of auncient fame.[49]

A less familiar statement of the fact is in Sir John Harington's address to Sir John Spencer, Lady Carey's brother, part of which has been quoted above:

> You have a learned writer of your name, make much of him, for it is not the least honour of your honourable family.[50]

[46] *Lives of the Berkeleys* 2.437-8.

[47] Of *The Teares of the Muses* to Lady Strange and of *Muiopotmos* to Lady Carey. The relationship is implied in the dedication of *Mother Hubberds Tale* to Lady Compton and Monteagle.

[48] Lines 536-9. All quotations from Spenser are from the one volume Oxford edition.

[49] Lines 130-31.

[50] *An Apology*, 1814, p. 30; quoted in Harington's *Epigrams*, ed. N. E. McClure, 1930, p. 421. McClure mistakes the identity of Sir John Spencer; the context of

Although the precise nature of the relationship is unknown to us to-day, Spenser and the three daughters of Sir John Spencer were satisfied of its existence. Further, the wording of Spenser's references may have a special significance; in *Colin Clouts*, published in 1595, he is a member of a "noble familie"; but in *Prothalamion*, published in 1596, he comes from a "house of auncient fame." The original grant of arms to the Spencers of Althorpe had been to Lady Carey's great-grandfather in 1504; in 1595 Clarencieux King of Arms Lee made for her brother Sir John Spencer a pedigree which (erroneously) connected the family with the ancient Despenciers. The learned Spencer, antiquarian and something of a genealogist, seems to have noted the change. In any case, the 1595 pedigree for the Althorpe Spencers and the resultant changes in their coat of arms explain why Spenser called a prosperous family of graziers, who had received their coat of arms less than a hundred years before, a "house of auncient fame." [51]

These references, of course, apply impartially to the three sisters, Elizabeth, Anne, and Alice. Elizabeth has been singled out for special attention by commentators on Spenser's works because she is the only lady to whom Spenser addressed a *Faerie Queene* sonnet for her own sake, because of the warmth of the *Muiopotmos* dedication, and because of Nashe's remark, "Fames eldest fauorite, Maister Spencer, in all his writings hie prizeth you." Spenser's promises of additional work to honor Lady Carey and the language of his known addresses are for Mr. P. W. Long clues to further associations of this patron with Spenser's poetry. He attacks the older biographical interpretation of the *Amoretti*, names Lady Carey as the mistress of the sonnets, and makes the further identifications referred to in the introduction of this paper.[52] Since his arguments are

the passage (see note 11 above) and the date of Harington's work make it clear that he is addressing the younger Sir John Spencer, not his father.

[51] See J. Horace Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, 1901, Chap. 7, "The Rise of the Spencers," pp. 279-329; W. H. Welply in *Notes and Queries* 162 (Feb. 13. 1932). 110; and Douglas Hamer, *ibid.* (May 28, 1932), p. 380.

[52] For references see footnotes 2, 3, and 4 above. Since my purpose in this paper is to consider who the mistress of the Amoretti is *not*, rather than who she is, I have little space for Mr. Long's negative arguments on the interpretation of the sonnets as the wooing of Elizabeth Boyle. The evidence of the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* is discussed pro and con by Mr. Long and Mr. Smith; on either

cumulative and interdependent, the main premises upon which they are based are naturally the principal subject of this analysis: if the premises are unsound or open to question the arguments and conclusions based upon them are no more trustworthy. The principal topics to be discussed may be summarized briefly thus: (1) that the *Faerie Queene* sonnet and the *Muiopotmos* dedication indicate a courtly love relationship; (2) that Charillis is Lady Carey; (3) that *Colin Clouts* 775-82 shows Spenser's interest in courtly love; (4) that the fourth Grace, a country lass of "mean estate," is Lady Carey; (5) that the Aragnoll of *Muiopotmos* represents Lady Carey in a courtly love poem. On each of these topics Mr. Long holds an affirmative view. I wish to present the arguments for the negative, and, wherever possible, alternative explanations.

1. That Spenser's dedications indicate courtly love.[53]

The starting point of the argument which leads to the identification of Lady Carey as the mistress of the *Amoretti* is the promise made in the highly flattering *Faerie Queene* sonnet and repeated at the beginning of the *Visions* group that more worthy offerings will be forthcoming. For Mr. Long these promises and Nashe's statement point to the *Amoretti* as the fulfillment. But Spenser promises the same thing to other patronesses, including Lady Carey's sisters, in the dedications of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, *The Teares of the Muses*, and the *Fowre Hymnes*. The *Hymnes* dedication will do for an illustration:

> . . . humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble seruice, in lieu of the great graces and honourable fauours which ye dayly shew vnto me, vntill such time as I may by better meanes yeeld you some more notable testimonie of my thankfull mind and dutifull deuotion.

side it is difficult to avoid a subjective interpretation of the poems. But a few statements concerning external evidence are subject to check. For example, it can no longer be said that "the name of Elizabeth Boyle never appears conjoined with that of Spenser" (Long, *MLR* 6. 391, 397); Mr. Welply's researches have strengthened considerably the evidence of Grosart. See *Notes and Queries* 146 (June 21, 1924). 445-7. Recent studies relating to Spenser's first marriage also have a bearing on the subject debated by Mr. Long and Mr. Smith.

[53] *MLR* 3. 257-9; 6. 395-6.

These promissory notes of literature, seldom paid off, are a commonplace, almost a convention, of Elizabethan dedications. It is not necessary to go beyond the limits of this paper for other illustrations: witness the unfulfilled promises of Nashe. Fleming and Churchyard write in the same vein. Nashe's allusion to Spenser's "prizing" Lady Carey in all his writings is adequately explained by the *Faerie Queene* sonnet and *Muiopotmos*; the statement, written in 1593, can be applied strictly only to Spenser's works in print before that date. If we assume, as Mr. Long does,[54] that Nashe had the *Amoretti* in mind, some evidence of his acquaintance with the sonnets is needed. The allusion is perhaps made more inclusive by Nashe's later reference in 1594: "Into the Muses societie her selfe she hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine Petrarch another monument in England." The most plausible explanation of this statement is that it refers to the secondary "dedication" to Lady Carey in the first and last sonnets of the three groups appended to *Muiopotmos*, one of which is the *Visions of Petrarch*.[55] Certainly three works, of the few published by Spenser before 1593, would amply justify the effusive Nashe for writing that Master Spenser prized Lady Carey in all his writings. Nor does "prizing" necessarily imply a work with the patron as its subject. The simple explanation of literary patronage given in Elizabethan dedications is that the patron "protects" the work inscribed to him and in return is celebrated by the inclusion of his name in a book which will presumably outlive him. Fleming's words will illustrate the point as well as any; they are especially relevant because they are addressed to the Careys:

> For Bookes are dedicated vnto such as be of Worship and Honour, that vnder their tuteleship and protection, as vnder the couert of Mineruas shield, they might lodge in safetie, and be sufficientlie defended against the venemous teeth of malicious mouthes: and the commendable vertues and valiant actes of woorthie Gentlemen, are registred and sealed vp in the monuments of the Muses, that by their incessant vtterance, and perpetuall speech, they might be exempted and set free from the enuious shot of consuming time.[56]

[54] *MLR* 3.260.
[55] See note 41 above.
[56] Dedication, *The Diamond of Deuotion*, 1581, sig. A2v.

So Spenser dedicates *The Teares of the Muses* to Lady Strange, " that by honouring you they might know me, and by knowing me they might honor you."

The language of the *Muiopotmos* dedication also finds a ready explanation in literary patronage. The sentence which is taken to indicate a courtly love relationship reads:

> Therefore I haue determined to giue my selfe wholy to you, as quite abandoned from my selfe, and absolutely vowed to your seruices: which in all right is euer held for full recompence of debt or damage to haue the person yeelded.

The last clause should not be slighted in the interpretation of the sentence, which is a typically Elizabethan conceit based upon debtor's law. A parallel example in a literary dedication is found in the conceit based upon feudal relations in Spenser's sonnet to Lord Grey, appended to the *Faerie Queene*:

> Through whose large bountie poured on me rife,
> In the first season of my feeble age,
> I now doe liue, bound yours by vassalage:
> Sith nothing euer may redeeme, nor reaue
> Out of your endlesse debt so sure a gage,
> Vouchsafe in worth this small guift to receaue,
> Which in your noble hands for pledge I leaue,
> Of all the rest, that I am tyde t'account.

George Gascoigne's dedication of *The Glasse of Governement* to Sir Oliver Hopton suggests another parallel:

> Sir, I am both by alliance your poore Kinsman, by sundrie great curtesies your debter, & by your exceeding travayles taken in my behalfe, I am become yours bounden and assured.[57]

These examples are quoted only to show that the language of the *Muiopotmos* dedication is like the language of literary patronage, that the dedication is not an indubitable sign of the courtly love relationship. Indeed, the *Muiopotmos* epistle loses some of its appearance of unusual warmth if it is read along with a number of the dedications which sometimes grace and sometimes mar Elizabethan literary effort.

The *Muiopotmos* dedication and the *Faerie Queene* sonnet have a further part in Mr. Long's argument in the emphasis he

[57] *Works*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe, 1910, 2. 3. Gascoigne, however, is particularly fond of the phrase " bounden and assured."

places upon key descriptive words for Lady Carey, by means of which he traces parallels in phrasing in the passages actually or supposedly addressed to her. Reference to the *Spenser Concordance*, published since the first presentation of this hypothesis, shows the dubiousness of such evidence. For example, the word "grace" is thus peculiarly associated with Lady Carey;[58] yet a goodly number of parallel uses are among the instances which fill two pages in the *Concordance*, and the last *Faerie Queene* sonnet is addressed with a fine inclusiveness "To all the *gratious* and beautifull Ladies in the Court." At best the verbal tags would be dubious guides; here they lack the exclusiveness which might make them useful.

In brief, the interpretation of the dedications to Lady Carey almost resolves itself into a matter of terms: what is called evidence of courtly love seems to me merely the inflated language which the system of literary patronage produced. The difference is that a courtly love relationship requires a sonnet sequence or a complimentary poem, which in Spenser's case looks toward the *Amoretti*; literary patronage is satisfied with the immortality of a name attached to any work.[59]

2. That Charillis is Lady Carey.[60]

To increase the measure of Spenser's known praises of Lady Carey, Mr. Long proposes a shift in the identification of the "sisters three" in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, making Charillis, not Phyllis, stand for Lady Carey. The change is proposed because the unusual name looks like an anagram on Elizabeth Carey, because "Charillis" may be derived from "charis" or "grace," and because the description of Charillis contains some of the other tag words already criticized. The value of the shift for Mr. Long's hypothesis lies in the fact that Charillis receives more lengthy praise than Phyllis or Amaryllis. But Spenser writes:

[58] *MLR* 3. 265-6. The criticism applies also to other parallels; e. g., "bountiful" and "fairest" (*ibid.* and p. 259).

[59] As further evidence of a close relationship, Mr. Long (*MLR* 3. 267) writes that Queen Elizabeth left Lady Carey a miniature of the poet Spenser. I have found no proof of this tradition, which Grosart relates (*Spenser's Works* 1. 242). Grosart confuses Lady Carey and her daughter in the Berkeley marriage, and neither Queen Elizabeth nor Lady Carey left wills.

[60] *MLR* 3. 259, note; 5. 276, 279; 6. 390, note.

Phyllis, Charillis and sweet *Amaryllis,*
Phillis the faire, is eldest of the three:
The next to her, is bountifull *Charillis.*
But th'youngest is the highest in degree.[61]

This is a definite statement, and it is supported by the biographical record. Elizabeth, or "Phyllis," was born June 29, 1552; Anne, or "Charillis," January 14, 1557; Alice, or "Amaryllis," on Holy Thursday, 1559.[62] The passage is correct, too, in describing Alice, the Countess of Derby, as highest in degree. A son and two daughters were born between the dates of birth of Elizabeth and Anne, and the passage cannot well be shifted from the three sisters who were at court. When he is talking about members of his own "noble familie" and when his statement can be verified, it is only fair to assume that Spenser knew what he was talking about. Certainly the burden of proof is on those who would "misconstrue his simple meaning." The suggestion of an anagram is not sufficient to outweigh the poet's accurate statement, particularly in a poem which runs strongly to pastoral names. Although the name is unusual, analogous forms do occur in classical literature; e. g. "Charilla."[63]

Further, there is a very plausible reason for the extension of the passage about Charillis to include more lines than are devoted to either Phyllis or Amaryllis. Anne Spencer had married on December 4, 1592,[64] as her third husband, Robert Sackville. The disproportionate praise of Charillis, then, can be explained as a compliment on the comparatively recent marriage of Anne. This part of the poem was certainly revised before publication, because Amaryllis did not become the

[61] Lines 540-43.

[62] British Museum Add. MS 29438, fol. 10. I have given the dates new style. The differences in age are more apparent in this record than in Sir John Spencer's epitaph, which lists all the sons in one group and all the daughters in another. If "Holy Thursday" means Ascension Day, Alice was born May 4, 1559.

[63] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae,* Capit. 12; cited in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. Georg Wissowa, 1894, 3.2142. The encyclopedia lists other names with the same stem.

[64] *Complete Peerage* 3.391; 4.423. The date is sometimes given as September 4, 1591 (e. g., W. L. Renwick, ed. *Complaints,* p. 232; ed. *Daphnaida,* pp. 181, 188); but Sackville's first wife died August 19, 1591, and the license for his second marriage was granted March 11, 1592. See *Allegations for Marriage Licenses,* Harleian Society Publications, vol. 25 (1887), p. 197.

"highest in degree" until 1593, and because her husband, Lord Strange, died in 1594. With this revision in mind, it is significant that the very lines which refer to the husband of Charillis can be omitted, either entirely or in part, without affecting the continuity of the poem. The passage begins at line 552:

> Thrice happie do I hold thee noble swaine,
> The which art of so rich a spoile possest,
> And it embracing deare without disdaine,
> Hast sole possession in so chaste a brest.

If these and the ensuing lines about Charillis, that is, lines 552-63, are omitted, the poem still reads smoothly. Certainly the allusion is more topical, though not necessarily more appropriate, for Anne than for Elizabeth, who had been married twenty years. And if Charillis is not Lady Carey the arguments based upon that identification have no weight.

3. That "Colin Clouts" reveals interest in courtly love.[65]

In addition to attempting to show that Lady Carey is singled out by Spenser even more than is generally recognized, Mr. Long would supply a favorable background for a courtly love relationship by showing Spenser's interest in the convention. The evidence cited is *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, lines 775-82:

> Not so (quoth he) loue most aboundeth there.
> For all the walls and windows there are writ,
> All full of loue, and loue, and loue my deare,
> And all their talke and studie is of it.
> Ne any there doth braue or valiant seeme,
> Vnlesse that some gay Mistresse badge he beares:
> Ne any one himselfe doth ought esteeme,
> Vnlesse he swim in loue vp to the eares.

But the lines, not quoted, which immediately follow this passage read:

> But they of loue and of his sacred lere,
> (As it should be) all otherwise deuise,
> Then we poore shepheards are accustomd here,
> And him do sue and serue all otherwise.

[65] *MLR* 3.258.

For with lewd speeches and licentious deeds,
His mightie mysteries they do prophane,
And vse his ydle name to other needs,
But as a complement for courting vaine.

"But as a complement for courting vaine,"—hardly words of approval. These passages are consecutive and they deal with precisely the same subject. If lines 775-82 are evidence of a personal interest in courtly love, then lines 783-94 express contempt for the fad.

4. That the fourth Grace is Lady Carey.[66]

If it is doubtful, as I believe it is, that Lady Carey is the mistress of the *Amoretti*, then the identifications (Amoret, the fourth Grace, the mistress of the *Hymnes*) which spring from the assumed association are equally doubtful. In addition to this inherent improbability from the weakness of the basic arguments, at least one of these corollary identifications is further weakened by statements hard to reconcile with the facts. Spenser calls the fourth Grace "a countrey lasse," "excelling much the meane of her degree," the "poore handmayd" of Gloriana;[67] and this description Mr. Long tries to fit to Lady Carey. The passage I have quoted from Harington would seem to offer most satisfactory support of this description; he called her a "plain country wench!" Likewise, Lady Carey's nephew and the Earl of Arundel, in a long famous incident, exchanged taunts involving an allusion to the Althorpe Spencers' lowly origin.[68] But Edmund Spenser called his Althorpe relatives a "noble familie" and boasted descent from a "house of auncient fame." Elizabeth Spencer's marriage to Sir George Carey brought her into a "high allied house," to use Nashe's phrase, and made her a kinswoman of the Queen; and her sisters' marriages resulted in family alliances strong enough to be politically important. Seeing this difficulty, Mr. Long vacillates in his description of Lady Carey. She is successively a "lady of comparatively inferior rank," "one of the great court patronesses (related by marriage to the Queen)," and

[66] *MLR* 3.265-6; *Englische Studien* 42.59-60.

[67] *Faerie Queene* 6.10.25-28.

[68] *DNB*, article "Robert Spencer, first Baron Spencer of Wormleighton"; J. H. Round, *Peerage and Family History*, pp. 279-80.

the " wife of a knight, not yet a lord," and therefore belonging to the " ' meane ' rather than the noble classes." [69] The study of Lady Carey's life without reference to Spenser has a real usefulness here. Just as Spenser's words show the improbability of his describing Lady Carey as he described the fourth Grace, so Lady Carey's haughty conduct in the Isle of Wight shows how much she would have appreciated such a description.[70]

5. That Aragnoll represents Lady Carey.[71]

The identification of Aragnoll in *Muiopotmos* as Lady Carey in a courtly love poem is the least possible of all. The parallels cited from other authors to support the likelihood of describing a mistress in these unflattering terms are incidental and allusive; in this poem there is too much consistent emphasis, for such a use, on the unpleasant characteristics of a male spider whose

> bowels so with ranckling poyson swelde,
> That scarce the skin the strong contagion helde.[72]

Mr. Long himself voiced this objection, several years before he published his new interpretation, when he eliminated *Muiopotmos* as a possible fulfillment of the promise of the *Faerie Queene* sonnet:

> The work in which Spenser so honoured Lady Carey cannot have been *Muiopotmos*. Exquisite as the poem is, its obscure allegory of a male spider ensnaring and destroying a male butterfly cannot be construed to " advance " her " excellent partes and noble vertues." [73]

The very nature of the poem is disputed: the inclination to see hidden meanings everywhere in Spenser's works has led to many conflicting interpretations of *Muiopotmos* as political or personal allegory on the one hand, and on the other the airiness of the poem has led critics like Lowell to regard it as

[69] *MLR* 3.258, 263, 266.

[70] See p. 36 above. The identification of Rosalind as Lady Carey, which I have omitted from this discussion, has never been urged strongly. We have no certain knowledge that Spenser was acquainted with Lady Carey before he came to court in 1589. We do know that she could not have been called the " widdowes daughter of the glenne " in 1579; her father died in 1586.

[71] *MLR* 9.457-62.

[72] Lines 255-6. This criticism has been made by H. J. C. Grierson, " Spenser's *Muiopotmos*," *MLR* 17 (1922).409-11.

[73] *MLR* 3.259.

a fanciful exercise of the poetic spirit. Is it possible that both views are right? The dedication asks Lady Carey not only to take the poem " in worth," in the conventional phrase, but also " of all things therein according to your wonted graciousnes to make a milde construction." This request may indicate that the poem refers lightly and humorously to a trivial incident known to Lady Carey and Spenser,—perhaps, as Mr. J. C. Smith suggests,[74] to her own embroidery. The poem is essentially descriptive; almost one-fourth of it is devoted to the story of a contest in " workes with loome, with needle, and with quill." Aside from this lengthy episode, a number of lines present subjects suitable for embroidery: the wings of the butterfly, the flowers of the gay garden, even the hated spider.

Mr. Smith's conjecture finds the appearance of support in the description of Lady Carey's New Year's gift to Queen Elizabeth in 1599/1600, not previously noted in this connection:

> By the Barronnes *Hunsdon*, junior, one doublet of white satten, embrodered and razed uppon like flyes, and leaves of Venyce silver, and garnished with white knyttworke.[75]

" Razed uppon like flyes, and leaves of Venyce silver." Is this annotation for the stanza of *Muiopotmos* which begins

> Emongst those leaues she made a Butterflie,[76]

a stanza which is Spenser's own addition to Ovid's myth? Perhaps so; if the poem is regarded as mock-heroic, this explanation would harmonize the dedication and the poem. Yet the gift comes ten years after the poem, and it is not unique; other garments of similar description may be noted in a few moments' browsing through the lists of New Year's gifts and the description of the Queen's wardrobe in Nichols's *Progresses*. Only the coincidence of Spenser's patron as the giver and something like an embroidered version of Spenser's stanzas as the gift make the record noteworthy.

The results of this study, I believe, are first some additions to our knowledge of Lady Carey as a person and as a literary

[74] *MLR* 5.279-80.
[75] John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 1823, 3.450.
[76] Lines 329-36.

patron independent of her relations with Spenser, and second a restoration of the more limited interpretation of those relations. Briefly, Spenser's avowed addresses to Lady Carey are adequately explained by kinship, the conventional practices of literary patronage, and the generous hospitality which won others to praise of the Careys. Even the " excellent fauours " of which Spenser writes in the *Muiopotmos* dedication may have been of the substantial kind which delighted Nashe; nor does the possibility of material gain detract from the sincerity of Spenser's friendship, a friendship which undeniably distinguished Lady Carey among his patrons. He dedicated several works to her; he praised her as Phyllis in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*; and, though there is scant evidence for such an interpretation of the poem, he may have alluded to her handiwork in *Muiopotmos*. More than that we do not know.

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